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SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART III

"RISE OF TERRORISM"

(23 Jun - 12 Sep 1932)
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Angus V. Rutledge
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Major, Field Artillery
CIS, GHQ, FEC

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 46-B
(23 June 1932)

Uchida Foreign Minister

Translated by Fumiko Segawa

"For example, the troops in Manchuria are only subjugating the rebellious natives there, and doing that forever would only injure the morale of the troops. The Emperor's troops should cut short their stay as much as possible and leave the subjugation of rebellious natives to the Chinese troops themselves. It took the Japanese troops 7 to 8 years to subjugate the rebellious natives in Formosa and, if possible, the Emperor's troops should not be sent out on such missions."

Just before he left, he patted my shoulder and said: "When you bring reports to Prince SAIONJI, be careful of differentiating the object from its shadow. Do be careful because your responsibilities are heavy."

Prince SAIONJI later said: "Former Premier WAKATSUKI has the clearest view of the matter. The War Minister came over and reported on various matters and said: 'I disapprove a political party cabinet;' however, he did not say anything about HIRANUMA. Navy Minister OSUMI did not mention anything concerning politics. He keenly felt his responsibility about the situation before and after the (INUKAI assassination) incident and felt very sorry. Fleet Admiral TOGO stated: 'I think HIRANUMA is the most suitable person, however, it does not have to be HIRANUMA. SAITO would be suitable too, but I disapprove of Count YAMAMOTO, Gombei.' It was very fortunate that Fleet Admiral TOGO had the same opinion about HIRANUMA and SAITO, without my mentioning the fact." On the way back from the Imperial Palace Prince SAIONJI stated that he had submitted to the Emperor Viscount

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SAITO's name (for premier).

Two or three days prior to this, when there were rumors that one of the three, HIRANUMA, SAITO or YAMAMOTO would be the new premier, it appeared in the newspapers and was rumored that Admiral TAKARABE was supporting someone. There is no one in Army circles who has been criticized as much as Admiral TAKARABE. If TAKARABE starts campaigning actively, I fear he may prevent someone from being appointed premier. Therefore, I telephoned Admiral TAKARABE and advised him: "I'm sorry to talk such matters over the phone but it is still indefinite whether or not the next Cabinet will be an interim Cabinet. However, even though the premiership lies between Count YAMAMOTO, Viscount SAITO and Baron HIRANUMA, if you openly support Count YAMAMOTO, or Viscount SAITO, because of your friendship, you may prevent him from being appointed Premier. Therefore, I ask you to exercise caution so that your actions will not be commented upon." Then Admiral TAKARABE replied: "I have been misunderstood many times and some might think that I am doing this with a design. Please rest assured that I certainly will not support anyone openly."

Finally the Emperor commanded Viscount SAITO to organize a new Cabinet, and still there were signs of Admiral TAKARABE's frequent visits to Viscount SAITO's place. Admiral TAKARABE told the press boastfully: "I will not be active openly, but will be active behind the scenes." This worried me because it produced an ill effect on various circles and especially, created a bad atmosphere between the Army and the Navy. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was also concerned about it and said to

me: "Please caution him." Therefore, I again asked Admiral TAKARABE to be cautious.

Viscount SAITO left Hayama and returned to his private residence in Yotsuya at 6:15 P.M. and got dressed. At 6:40 P.M. he proceeded to the Imperial Palace and received an Imperial mandate to form a new Cabinet. To it SAITO replied: "I would like to have a short extension of time in order to give this matter careful consideration before I reply to the Throne," and returned to his residence in Yotsuya at 7:20 P.M. That evening, rumors circulated to the effect that: "Viscount SAITO will not accept the Premiership", or that: "He might decline it."

On the 23rd, at 9 A.M., Viscount SAITO called on Prince SAIONJI at his Surugadai residence and reported upon his having received the Imperial Mandate through his recommendation. He then listened to the Prince's views on saving the situation.

There were rumors that a Korea clique Cabinet might be formed, because Count KODAMA, MARUYAMA, former Chief of Metropolitan Police and both YUASA, Sohei and ARIYOSHI, Tadaichi, who had been connected with SAITO while in Korea, gathered frequently at Viscount SAITO's place and that since KABAYAMA, Shiei and TAKAHASHI visited SAITO frequently, a Satsuma clique Cabinet might be formed, etc. However, Viscount SAITO called on WAKATSUKI and SUZUKI, both party presidents, and said to them: "Please recommend some Cabinet members from your parties."

Finally, the following persons were recommended for Cabinet members: YAMAMOTO, Tatsuo and NAGAI, Ryutaro from the Minseito; HATOYAMA, MITO and TAKAHASHI from Seiyukai; NAKASHIMA, Kumakichi and GOTO, Hisao from the House of Peers; Admiral OKADA for Navy Minister; KOYAMA

for Minister of Justice; either General HAYASHI, Senjuro or Lt. Gen. ARAKI for War Minister; SHIBATA, Zensaburo for Chief Cabinet Secretary and HORIKIRI for Director of the Bureau of Legislation.

Directly and indirectly IZAWA, Takio was quite active in the preparations for the formation of this new Cabinet. He gave assistance on various angles, but since he was so openly active, there were cynical comments to the effect that IZAWA's Cabinet might be formed next.

General HAYASHI, Senjuro was almost certain to be chosen for War Minister but on the 25th, Lt. Col. SUZUKI came over, quite worried, and said: "It's useless to think of General HAYASHI for War Minister. The high officials in the Army desire to have Minister ARAKI remain in office." When I heard the facts, it seemed necessary to have Minister ARAKI remain. ONODERA, Director of the Intendance Bureau, Vice-Minister KOISO and Director ONODERA, particularly, with the indirect support of General MINAMI and General KANAYA, started criticizing War Minister ARAKI, seeking to further General MINAMI's ambition: "I (MINAMI) would like to become the Chief of the General Staff", or "I (MINAMI) would like to become the War Minister once more." In one instance, at the Board of Generals' Conference, they tried to place the responsibility for the October Incident and the May Incident directly upon the War Minister, creating quite a commotion, and in another, the Board of Generals' Conference convened without the War Minister's knowledge.

It seemed that Minister ARAKI keenly felt his responsibility and was determined to resign, but at the same time harboured some ill-feeling towards General MINAMI

and the others. It seemed that he decided to resign with a defiant attitude: "If you think you can force me out, just try it." If Minister ARAKI resigns now, his successor will surely be swayed by the intriguing factions.

In a large organization like the Army, the Minister or Vice-Minister has to be in office for at least a year in order to find out whether or not he can carry out his program of administration.

General UGAKI, General MINAMI, and others, who are highly ambitious, are not welcomed by the nucleus of the Army, for they have a stronger feeling to let straightforward Minister ARAKI be reinstated than have one of those men become War Minister. There were even signs that they would talk to General HAYASHI and induce him not to accept the office of War Minister.

I then went to the Premier's place and explained to Viscount SAITO: "Theoretically it is not good, but it is necessary, from the practical point of view, to have War Minister ARAKI remain in office." Then Viscount SAITO said: "It seems impossible to have ARAKI remain in office now, for General HAYASHI has already been notified by wire." Therefore, after telling him: "Well, I just relayed what I heard, that it was best to have ARAKI remain in office", I left. All arrangements were made (for conference) but the problem of the War Minister took a long time. On the 26th, upon General HAYASHI's arrival in Tokyo on the 8:30 A.M. train, the conference by the 3 officials (War Minister, Chief of the General Staff and the Inspector-General of Military Education) was held. General HAYASHI refused to accept the office

of War Minister; therefore, ARAKI will remain in that office.

The arrangements of the Cabinet ministers were completed, in general, and on the morning of the 26th, the Name List on the Cabinet Members was submitted to the Emperor and the inaugural ceremony was held at 3:30 P.M. FUJINUMA became the Chief of the Metropolitan Police; KOSAKA, Governor of Tokyo-Fu; NAKAGAWA, Governor-General of Formosa and MATSUMOTO, Manabu, Director of the Police Bureau. On Navy Day, the 27th, Admiral. Prince FUSHIMI, became a member of the Supreme Military Council and received the title of Fleet Admiral.

Since the inauguration ceremony was over, Prince SAIONJI returned to OKITSU by train on the 28th at 1 P.M. Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress Dowager, in appreciation of Prince SAIONJI's services, sent a basket of fresh fish and of vegetables raised at the Shinjuku Imperial Gardens through YAMADA, a Chamberlain. Before Prince SAIONJI left, Her Majesty, the Empress, also sent him a present in appreciation for his services. Prince SAIONJI arrived in Shizuoka at 4:06 P.M. and returned to his Okitsu residence under heavy guard.

The special session of the Diet will finally convene on July 1. I heard that since SHIBATA, Chief Cabinet Secretary, was very hard of hearing, HORIKIRI, Director of the Bureau of Legislation, was having a difficult time. There were several who mentioned this fact. So when I had a talk with the Premier I mentioned it to him. Then the Premier said: "SHIBATA is a very honest person and I am thinking of changing his position when personnel and other general matters take shape. I did not think that he

was that hard of hearing, but he really is a fine man."
HORIKIRI, Director of the Bureau of Legislation, served as the Chief Secretary practically all the time the Diet was in session.

At the special session of the Diet, which was held for 2 weeks, the problems of the reinstatement of the War Minister and the maintenance of discipline in the Army created a commotion. Later, the problem of the tariff aroused quite a stir, but everything ended amicably. Due to public opinion and the statement (to maintain strict discipline) of the Army, the Diet adjourned amicably on the 14th. Therefore, I went to Okitsu on the 15th and 16th and reported to Prince SAIONJI, in general, the comments of the general public after the formation of the Cabinet and the state of affairs in government circles. On the 15th, after the closing ceremony of the Diet, I went to Okitsu and reported on the progress of the Diet.

The Premier, who is determined to have UCHIDA, President of the South Manchuria Railway Co., take over the additional post of Foreign Minister, wired him and urged him to accept the office. Vice-Minister ARITA also wired UCHIDA that the Foreign Ministry also wishes him to accept the office of Foreign Minister. However, Count UCHIDA avoided making any immediate reply and merely said: "I will be going back sometime next month." On the 15th Count UCHIDA came up to Tokyo and immediately called on Viscount SAITO. He was directly approached to accept the appointment as Foreign Minister, but he stated: "I still have some unfinished business at the South Manchuria Railway Office and also have some other important matters to take care of in Manchuria.

Therefore, I would like to be of service as President of the South Manchuria Railway Co." Then the Premier said: "You could still take care of affairs in Manchuria while Foreign Minister." To that UCHIDA replied: "Well, I would like to think it over for two or three days", and so saying, left the Premier's place.

It seemed that TANI, Chief of the Asia Burea, and Vice-Minister ARITA from the Foreign Ministry met with Count UCHIDA and did their utmost, as representatives of the Foreign Ministry, to persuade UCHIDA to accept the office. Three of four days later, Count UCHIDA told the Premier: "I will accept the office of Foreign Minister, but first I would like to go back to Manchuria for a two week's visit sometime around the 21st, after the general meeting of the stockholders which is to be held on the 20th is over. By that time, if possible, please have EGUCHI (former vice-president of South Manchuria Railway Co.) appointed as an Imperial nominee to the House of Peers." The Premier wanted to say: "At such a critical time as this we must have someone as full-time Foreign Minister as soon as possible; therefore, please call off the trip to Manchuria and accept the office," but he remained silent.

On the 18th, since I thought that I had to mention OKAWA's arrest to Prince SAIONJI , I went to the Foreign Ministry and talked to ARITA. Since UCHIDA, President of the South Manchuria Railway Co., was to visit Prince SAIONJI at his Okitsu residence, Vice-Minister ARITA said: "I am very much worried about Count UCHIDA's desire to return to Manchuria once more before he enters upon the office of Foreign Minister. It would be terrible if he

were influenced to change his mind while there. What do you think? I would like UCHIDA to assume the office of Foreign Minister as soon as possible and would like Prince SAIONJI to dissuade him from going to Manchuria, etc."

Therefore I said: "You must mention this to the Premier first, before I say anything to the Prince", and saying so, returned home. I was getting ready when I received a letter from the Premier to this effect: "According to Vice-Minister ARITA, you are going to Okitsu. If you do go to Okitsu, please tell Prince SAIONJI that I earnestly beg him to advise UCHIDA, President of the South Manchuria Railway Co., as follows when he sees him tomorrow: 'Instead of returning to Manchuria again, at a critical time like this, please accept the post (of Foreign Minister) immediately.' I thought it necessary to see the Premier regarding the letter, so immediately went to the Premier's official residence and talked with him on various matters. The Premier asked me to say to Prince SAIONJI: "Please dissuade UCHIDA from going to Manchuria as if it is your own opinion." I left for Okitsu the following morning.

When I told the detailed story to the Prince, he said: "I am not certain whether he will take my advice or not, but I will have a talk with him and try to dissuade him. I am of the same opinion as the Premier, etc."

I then reported the details concerning OKAWA, Shumei's arrest. Recently the Army had publicized a story that something like the "bomb" incident would break out actively in the Navy. But when I asked the Navy Minister and Vice-Minister about this matter, they said: "Nonsense, the

matter has been thoroughly investigated by the Navy and proper action has been taken." When the Navy conducted its own investigation of the group that participated in the May 15 Incident, they discovered that Lt. KOGA received from OKAWA, Shumei, ¥1,500 at first and ¥4,000 later. They conducted their investigation further into inner circles of the Army and even where the Army itself could not probe and the information obtained was submitted to the Procuratorial Office.

Since the time he was attorney-general, the present Minister of Justice, KOYAMA, has been carefully watching OKAWA's movements. When compared, the data of the investigations conducted by the Navy and the Procuratorial Office were found to correspond. Therefore, the Procuratorial Office could not overlook it, so went to Uyeno Station to arrest OKAWA; however, as there were about twenty party members there to see him off, OKAWA, travelling alone to Aomori first, was arrested at Tsuchiura and put behind bars.

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Chapter 45-C
(23 June 1932)

Okawa Buys Assassins

Translated by Miss. Fumiko Segawa

The Prince said: "That's good, such matters must be handled positively but with caution. As I have said from the beginning, the Rightists have been handled leniently, but it's better now to handle them firmly."

After returning from Okitsu, I met the Premier and Vice-Minister ARITA and conveyed Prince SAIONJI's message: "I'll have a talk with UCHIDA, President of the South Manchuria Railway Co., when he comes over, but I cannot assure you of success.

The following day, Sunday evening, I had a phone call from Okitsu to this effect: "UCHIDA, President of the South Manchuria Railway Co. came, so I advised him to call off his trip to Manchuria. However, UCHIDA replied that he was returning to Manchuria of necessity on the fifth of next month, etc., and paid no attention to my advice. Please tell the Premier that I'm sorry."

I met the Premier Monday morning and told him the state of affairs and the Premier said: "I'm satisfied now that the Prince has spoken to him. I'm sure Count UCHIDA will come back without being dissuaded from accepting."

On the 23rd I met Home Minister YAMAMOTO and talked about the trouble existing in the Minseito indicated by such rumors as that YAMAMICHI and FURUYA were seceding from the Party to form a new party, or that approximately 70 or 80 members were seceding from the Party along with them. However, it seems incredible. He (YAMAMOTO) said that if their names were stricken off

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the Party list, the problem might be generally solved, and he did not seem to take it too seriously.

Yesterday, when the Home Minister met with the War Minister regarding OKAWA's case, he (Home Minister) said: "I am not sure that it is advisable to act harshly beyond a certain degree." The Justice Minister is planning to deal with the matter as harshly as possible. Navy Minister OKADA's intention also is to get to the bottom of this matter. I went to see Minister YAMAMOTO first, and then saw the Navy Minister later on. According to the Navy Minister's story, upon his return from his recent trip to Maizuru, he had met with the officers of the Combined Fleet, and it seemed that he had full confidence that no incident will occur in the Fleet and that everything was under control.

ARITA, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, said: "A little while ago, the British Ambassador appeared at the Foreign Ministry and said that the British Government wished to make the following inquiry: 'With the adoption of the resolution on the Manchukuo recognition problem in the House of Representatives, how does the government intend to deal with this matter? The independence of Manchukuo itself is not a violation of the Nine Power Treaty. However, any slight encouragement of its independence by Japan violates the purpose of the treaty.' He then asked, 'Does the Japanese Government intend to recognize Manchukuo before Lord Lytton's return from Manchuria?' Thereupon, I (ARITA) answered: 'I can give you a definite answer on that point, for there are no such intentions on the part of the Japanese Government. My reply on the resolutions adopted at

the Diet session will be made in the near future.'

"I (ARITA) heard that during Lord Lytton's stay in Tokyo, TOYAMA, UCHIDA and a Korean named BOKU, backed by MARUYAMA, Tsurukichi, would hold a mass-meeting. I do not think it possible, but am thinking of inquiring into this matter."

I then went over to see the Minister of Justice on the 24th, about four P.M., and he explained to me in detail the developments leading up to OKAWA's arrest. The Justice Minister said: "On October 16th, the night before the Harvest Festival (Niinamesai), last year, I, as Attorney-General was informed that Lt. Colonel HASHIMOTO of the General Staff Headquarters, with 16 or 17 officers, had been placed under arrest. Before that, I had thought it necessary to keep an eye on OKAWA, KITA and NISHIDA, and had been watching them constantly. Morning after the Harvest Festival, I noticed Kempei standing at the gate of Chief of the General Staff, KANAYA's residence which faces my home. When I went over to KANAYA's home, he, as usual, was drinking sake in the morning, and when I said: 'I heard that many Army personnel were taken into custody last night', he answered: 'Oh, that isn't a serious matter', and did not enter into details. I wanted to have the Commander of the Kempei come over, but when I sent for him, instead of the Commander coming, he sent Lt. Colonel FUJII in his place. FUJII also assumed a non-committal attitude and did not talk much.

"At the end of October, I received a report from the Metropolitan Police Board to the effect that: 'The October 17th affair was merely a fake.' On November 3rd, when I

met the Chief of the General Staff at the Imperial Palace, he said, 'That affair has been settled by administrative action.' Thereafter, the Procuratorial Office carefully watched OKAWA's actions and it became evident that OKAWA indulged in extravagant pleasures at the Kinryutei Tea House in Tsukiji. Then, about the middle of February, YAMADA, a judge, came over and told me: 'There's a queer person in the Navy.' During the time when Capt. FUJII, Tadashi was in the Air Force at Tsuchiura, INOUYE, Nissho emphatically declaimed: 'Something must be done about party politics,' and they made such comments as: 'The personnel administration of the Army is bad', 'The London Treaty is absurd', and 'Hereafter, Lt. General ARAKI should be the head of the Army and KOBAYASHI (Air Force Commander) of the Navy.'

"One evening, OKAWA invited Rear Admiral KOBAYASHI to the Kinryutei (Tea House) in Tsukiji and entertained him. He then took out 10,000 Yen in cash and tried to involve Rear Admiral KOBAYASHI, saying: 'With this money, let us instigate the farmers and the Army and start an internal riot.' Rear Admiral KOBAYASHI, enraged at his statement, left the place. Since there were such persons in the Naval Air Force, TANIGUCHI, Chief of the Naval General Staff, intended to inflict severe punishment upon them, but since the Army repeatedly said to Navy Minister ABO: 'Do not deal with the matter too severely', Navy Minister ABO finally complied with the Army's request. TANIGUCHI having a divergence in views, resigned.

"Captain FUJII died in Shanghai and later on, KONUMA, who assassinated INOUYE, former Finance Minister

stated: 'I (KONUMA) received the pistol from Lt. ITO', but in fact it was the pistol brought back by FUJII.

With the exposure of the October coup d'etat, HASHIMOTO was punished and the ARAKI faction gained power. Enraged at this, the INOUYE, Nissho faction stated: 'OKAWA's and NISHIDA's actions regarding the October Incident are inexcusable', and blamed the high Army officials for the October Incident. When INOUYE, Nissho was arrested and subjected to an investigation conducted at GONDO's vacant house, it became evident that the May 15th assassination had been plotted at this very house. When the Procuratorial Office interrogated Lt. HAMA, it was revealed that the assassinations were to have taken place on May tenth. The Justice Minister spoke only to the Premier about his intention of conducting a thorough investigation on the May 15th incident.

"Navy Minister OKADA learned that the Navy also had data on the May 15th Incident, so with this data Lt. KOGA was investigated and light was thrown on the Incident. OKAWA is advocating fascism to Governor OKUBO of Chiba Prefecture. I heard that: 'The Justice Minister heard from HATOYAMA, Minister of Education, that Governor OKUBO, thinking himself a true fascist, went to his (HATOYAMA) place and told him: 'Party politics is impractical.'"

The data furnished by the Navy coincides with that of the Justice Minister, which had been gathered from the time that he was Attorney-General. Therefore the prosecution held a conference and about the evening of the 20th, the prosecutor phoned: "I have business with

OKAWA so...," then OKAWA himself came to the phone and said: "I am leaving for Aomori tonight at 10 P.M. Kindly arrange it so that I may see you after my return."

The Procuratorial Office dispatched ten detectives to board the train leaving Uyeno Station at 10 P.M., for Aomori. However, at Uyeno Station, as twenty henchmen were there to see OKAWA off, the detectives thought the time adverse to arrest him, boarded the train and fortunately found OKAWA travelling alone. He was arrested upon reaching Tsuchiura; on way over to the Procuratorial Office, OKAWA was silent and only spoke once saying: "If I was to be arrested, I wish it had been carried out at my home."

When OKAWA was questioned, it became evident that he handed 1,500 Yen to Lt. KOGA the first time. OKAWA remembers that on March 11th, Lt. KOGA came over to his place and said: "Give me some money and weapons", so he told him: "I can't give it to you right now, come over on April 3rd." When Lt. KOGA came on April 3rd, he (OKAWA) gave him 1,500 Yen and five pistols with 200 cartridges.

When asked: "Where did you buy the pistols and cartridges?", OKAWA answered: "I bought them from a Chinese in 1929." He also added: "KOGA demanded 1,500 Yen to start a farmers' riot."

On April 23rd, KOGA again said: "Give me 2,000 Yen", so OKAWA handed him that amount.

During the period between April 30 and May 11th, OKAWA was in Manchuria. During his absence, someone brought KOGA's letter to him. On May 13th, KURCIWA came over and asked: "Give me 2,500 Yen", so he gave him

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that amount. He has already given him a total of 6,000 Yen. The farmers were to be asked to take direct terroristic action, thus starting a riot so as to have martial law declared. Then the Army could step right in and take control of the government.

During OKAWA's stay in Manchuria, the officer candidates that assassinated INUKAI on May 15 were also in Manchuria and it seems that the assassination plot had been planned together in Manchuria. The young officers said: "It's unwise," when IKEDA talked about the May 15 plot. Therefore, the officer candidates were the only ones that were induced to participate in the Incident as prearranged.

People repeatedly remarked: "As HIRANUMA's tool, the Justice Minister, KOYAMA, is conducting a thorough investigation of this Incident." Even Premier SAITO is determined to investigate the matter thoroughly and said: "At the Cabinet meeting held on the 24th, I for the first time, gave a detailed account of the Incident to the Cabinet members. In order to prevent a leak, even the Cabinet members are careful not to discuss the matter."

On the 25th, I went to Okitsu and reported to Prince SAIONJI on the progress of current affairs. The Prince also expressed the view that: "The May 15 Incident must be thoroughly investigated." He also said: "UCHIDA came over to see me the other day, so I tried to dissuade him (from going to Manchuria), but he said, 'Please forgive me, but I want to visit Manchuria once more.' Long ago, during the time when TAKAHASHI, Korekiyo was Premier, UCHIDA detested being appointed Foreign Minister and I had been asked to persuade him to accept the office, which he finally

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accepted. And now again, therefore, I told Count UCHIDA: 'It seems that I am always making unreasonable requests, but under these circumstances, how about giving up the idea of going to Manchuria, and accepting the appointment?' Then UCHIDA replied: 'I come here with the understanding of the Army in Manchuria that I was not to accept the office of Foreign Minister. Therefore, if I do not go back and explain the situation, it will be embarassing for me to accept the office.' So I said: 'Well, it seems inevitable,' and we parted."

SAIONJI also said: "IKITA, Speaker of the House, came over the other day and talked on various matters. According to his story it seems that at the sitting of the House the members are in earnest when they clamor and burst out angrily; if such is the case, the serving of liquor should be stopped when the Diet is in session."

I returned without discussing any important matters.

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Chapter 46
(2 July 1932)

Omens of Rising Facism

Translated by Fumiko Segawa

On the 28th, Lt. Col. SUZUKI went to report (to SAIONJI) on current events. On the 29th, a news reporter came and said that it is incessantly rumored that War Minister ARAKI stated to the Premier the Army's firm view concerning the Manchuria and Mongolia problem, and that the Premier is greatly vexed.

I phoned the Premier, saying: "I heard this sort of story", but the Premier said: "That is absolutely untrue. I once asked War Minister ARAKI's detailed opinion on this matter. I called him again for further confirmation of his opinion, however, he did not express any strong opinion on this matter."

It seems to be in the air that a group of people in the War Ministry and at General Headquarters are trying to inconvenience the War Minister. If this is interpreted unfavorably, it could mean that the group centered on the Vice War Minister and the Chief of the Intendance Bureau are trying to create a situation favorable to themselves, so are spreading rumors on various problems which the War Minister has no connection with.

When I dropped in at the Foreign Ministry, Vice-Minister ARITA said: "The British Ambassador came today and said: 'There are such rumors as that when Lord Lytton and other prominent people in his party sent from the League arrive in Japan they will be assassinated by a gang of ruffians. There is also talk that people such as UCHIDA, Ryohei are planning to hold a mass meeting to discuss the Manchuria recognition problem. Is it safe with such rumors of danger

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flying about?" Therefore, I replied: 'That is untrue, for every precaution will be taken, and actually it is impossible for such a thing to happen, although there are such rumors'."

Since I was free from 12 noon, on my way home I called on the British Ambassador who had said: "I want to see you." The British Ambassador asked me: "Have you seen the latest issue of the Japan Times? They have TOYAMA publicized as a great man of Japan." He spoke on the same subjects which had already been discussed with TOYAMA, HIRANUMA and ARITA. So I said: "That is untrue. As already stated by ARITA, the matter involved is not so serious. Since you were not entirely satisfied when NAGAI was Vice-Foreign Minister, what do you think about the present Vice-Minister, ARITA?"

He replied: "Very good. ARITA is very business-like and the work progresses well. He is a man of good sense. Therefore the diplomatic group is very fortunate to have him."

Since a farewell luncheon party was being held at Kuwana for Vice Admiral SAKONJI, I attended it. Admiral OSUMI, KIDO, OKABE, IWAKURA and others were also present and we lunched together until 2:30 P.M. and parted. On the way back, I dropped in at the Justice Minister's place and mentioned to him my report to Prince SAICNJI on the recent subject matter. He asked me: "Are you sure that there's no harm in interrogating Marquis TOKUGAWA concerning his connections with the OKAWA Case, which you mentioned the other day?" Therefore I replied: "Since he (TOKUGAWA) is connected with the case, you should feel free to question him. As a matter of course,

proper actions should be taken one after the other, in compliance with the law."

We talked on various matters for about an hour, and on my way home, I stopped in at "Kojunsha" to hear TAKEGOE's story on TANAKA, Kotaro, writer of the "Life of Prince SAIONJI"; however, he was not in. I then met KOYAMA, Kango, and while I was talking to him, MORI came over. I met MORI after a long time and he (MORI) said: "I returned yesterday from a trip. I deeply resent the formation of the SAITO Cabinet. The last time I met Prince SAIONJI, SAIONJI said: 'Each and every cabinet is a patch-work cabinet', therefore I will overthrow this Cabinet and form a non-patch-work Cabinet. In short, it is a grave mistake to believe that the condition is calm, for actually this calmness is the symptom of a coming storm. The age of Genki and Tensho (Sengoku jidai - turbulent age), will come again soon."

Therefore I advised him: "I am not aware of what you intend to do, but be very cautious for if you act in company with a bungler you will bring ruin upon yourself." He answered me: "Don't worry, I'll be cautious."

I returned in the evening and dined out with my relatives. On the 30th I went to Okitsu. On the 29th during the evening Lt. Col. SUZUKI had phoned me and spoken of his interview with Prince SAIONJI on the 28th. He sounded very pleased. On the 30th, about 1 P.M., when I went to the Prince's residence in Okitsu, the Prince said: "The other day, Lt. Col. SUZUKI called on me and clarified for me the matters concerning the tariff problems of China. After all, SUZUKI has good sense and is very good." The Prince seemed to have recognized SUZUKI's

personality.

Then the Prince told me: "Sometime ago, there were rumors about Prince KANIN being greatly concerned over agrarian problems. I think it is advisable to warn Prince KANIN that it is unpleasant to have anyone of his position to be taken advantage of and be involved in the political problems of rural communities. Also, SUZUKI, President of the Seiyukai, came over and said: 'I will be very cautious and will support the Cabinet,' and he seemed to have confidence in HATOYAMA."

Upon my return to Tokyo, I met INAGAKI, Intendant to Prince KANIN, and spoke to him about the gist of Prince SAIONJI's advice. He told me: "The newspapers gave a false report. As President of "Saisei Kai", Prince KANIN requested the Government subsidy for the activities of his organization and that must have been reported by mistake. To prevent the occurrence of such conditions, I will advise Prince KANIN."

I then met the Minister of Agriculture & Forestry and spoke to him about the matter and also warned him. By chance I met the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board at the official residence of the Minister of Agriculture & Forestry and during our conversation, standing, he said: "NAKASHIMA, OKAWA's secretary, is now being investigated by my office and the outline of the incident has become quite clear. NAKASHIMA is a loose talker."

By phone I reported to Okitsu (Prince SAIONJI) on the matter involving Prince KANIN. About two or three days later, when I went to Okitsu again, Prince SAIONJI asked me: "When SUZUKI came over the other time, he told me that Lord LYTTON's party desired to see me and so he

asked me: "Do you want to meet them?', so I answered: 'I do not intend to see them.' However, is it an actual fact that they informed the Foreign Ministry of their desire to see me?"

Therefore I immediately phoned the Vice-Foreign Minister and inquired about this matter. His answer was: "That is not so," but when I returned to Tokyo and met the Vice-Minister again, it became evidence that they had had a communication to the effect that: "Lord LYTTON's party will meet Prince SAIONJI if the Japanese Government desires." According to the Foreign Ministry's opinion, "It is unnecessary for Prince SAIONJI to meet Lord LYTTON's party." They sent a reply: "The Government does not particularly desire Prince SAIONJI to have this meeting."

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Chapter 47
(9 July 1932)

Uchida's Successor in the S.M.R.

Translated by Miss Fumiko Segawa

When I met the Vice-Foreign Minister on July 1, he said: "The British and French Ambassadors came and repeatedly advised, 'Do not hurry in the recognition of Manchukuo, although it seems that Japan is taking steps to recognise her before Lord LYTTON's party arrives in Tokyo. We would like Japan not to act hastily.'" Vice-Minister ARITA also said: "When UCHIDA, the newly-appointed Foreign Minister, has an interview with Lord LYTTON's party, we would like him not to disclose Japan's final resolution from the beginning," and also: "I presume that the investiture of the new Foreign Minister will be held on the morning of the 6th." Also: "I shall explain to you the relationship between Japan and Russia in general, and when you go to Okitsu, please pass the story on to Prince SAIONJI:

"During Former Premier INUKAI's time, the Russian Government, through the Russian Ambassador in Tokyo, proposed to the Japanese Government a non-aggression pact and the establishment of credit. At that time, Premier INUKAI had YAMAMOTO, Jotaro negotiate with Ambassador TROYANOVSKY on the proposition: 'Japan will purchase North Saghalien and the Chinese Eastern Railway from Russia and establish a credit for Russia.' YAMAMOTO, Jotaro proposed: 'To have the petroleum in Saghalien; the Chinese Eastern Railway; and the gold dust in the Amur River, be a joint undertaking of Japan and Russia?, but with Russia saying, 'Let's bear the

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Moscow Government's opinion,' the discussion was retarded. When YOSHIZAWA was Foreign Minister, the Russian Ambassador visited the Foreign Minister at his Ministry and said: 'We would like someone appointed to carry on informal negotiations because YAMAMOTO, Jotaro is unable to do so due to his illness.'

"'Therefore the Chief of the Bureau of European and American Affairs met unofficially with the Russian Ambassador two or three times. Russia stated: 'In regard to the non-aggression pact and other problems pending between Japan and Russia, Soviet Russia will make concessions on the fishery problem and, in exchange for this, we ask Japan to give due respect to the Soviets' interest in the Chinese Eastern Railway.'

"'After that the matter was dropped but recently, when FUJIWARA, Ginjiro met the Russian Ambassador regarding negotiations for importing Russian lumber, Ambassador TROYANOVSKY talked with him on various matters. Ambassador TROYANOVSKY met with FUJIWARA three or four times. The Ambassador told FUJIWARA: 'The fishery right is Japan's right, making inroads into Russia's interest, and the Chinese Eastern Railway is Russia's right, eating into Japan's interest. If Russia will buy up the fishery rights and surrender the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan, i.e., if Japan buys it, the problem will be simplified. Let us estimate the fishery rights as worth 50,000,000 Yen and apply that sum as a portion of the price of the Chinese Eastern Railway. When it comes to the problem of appraising the price of the Railway, we would like an official representative from the Japanese Government to negotiate with us. If there's no objection

on your part, could you (FUJIWARA) propose this immediately to the Foreign Ministry?'

"'At the Foreign Ministry, FUJIWARA said: 'I courteously declined Ambassador TOROYANOVSKY's request for the time being.' He also said: 'Vice-War Minister KOISO proposes that Chinese Eastern Railway should be purchased, but there seem to be some who oppose it.'"

I reported all these items to Prince SAIONJI when I saw him on the 2nd.

I heard that: "The Emperor was greatly pleased regarding the Premier's proposed broadcast, and that the Emperor, through the Grand Chamberlain expressed his feelings; 'That's excellent. I wonder what will be the contents of the Premier's broadcast;' also that the Chief Cabinet Secretary, deeply moved, told news reporters of this." There were some critical comments from the news reporters and others such as: "It is disgraceful for the Emperor to comment on trivial matters," or that: "The Cabinet is taking advantage of the Emperor." Therefore, to confirm the truth of the tale, I inquired of the Grand Chamberlain. The Grand Chamberlain's reply was that as far as he knew, it was contrary to fact. When I mentioned this to the Chief Cabinet Secretary, he stated: "I heard that the Grand Chamberlain phoned the Premier and said: 'You did not mention anything about this broadcast to the Emperor. The Emperor would like to know the topic of your broadcast. His Majesty thinks it an excellent idea and would like to know the gist of what you plan to say.' Since I (Chief Cabinet Secretary) was deeply touched by His Majesty's gracious words, I mentioned it to the news reporters."

Therefore, I told the Chief Cabinet Secretary: "You spoke from your own experience when residing in Osaka. However, many things differ in the Kanto district from that of Kansai district. When His Majesty bestows gracious words upon the people of Kansai, it is usual that the enterprisers and industrialists of Osaka are deeply moved without suspicion. However, this does not apply in Tokyo. Even the Tokyo-ites are deeply moved by His Majesty's gracious words, but such words can be abused by political maneuvering and be used as stepping-stones and be the cause of criticisms. They may result in severe criticisms of high officials, who are closely affiliated with the Emperor, or in slander of His Majesty. It is necessary that one use prudence when any public announcement is made on matters pertaining to conversations which take place between a Minister of State and the Emperor or through the Grand Chamberlain. In a certain sense such announcements are very dangerous, therefore, I advise you to be very careful," and returned.

When I related the matter to Prince SAIONJI, he stated: "In the existing situation I have been repeatedly advised by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to be granted an Imperial Edict. Therefore I asked the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: 'Is that Count KIYOURA's suggestion?', he replied, 'Exactly.' ADACHI's proposal for the formation of a coalition Cabinet might be the cause of such a suggestion by Count KIYOURA. I guess that Premier SAITO's broadcast is the result of the query: 'Why don't you request an Imperial Edict,' asked by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal or the high officials; the Premier, being a very thoughtful person, thought it advisable to do

some broadcasting homself instead of troubling the Emperor."

The Prince also talked of matters pertaining to the Investigation Commission, and said: "I heard that Viscount ISHII's speech is well spoken of, but it does not appeal to me much." I mentioned to the Prince the reason for M.TSUDAIRA, Yoshitami's resignation from the position of President of the Bureau of Peerage and Hearldry (Sochitsuryo) and his appointment as full-time Vice-Grand Master of Ceremonies. I told the Prince: "The Vice-Minister of the Imperial Household immediately approved MATSUDAIRA's resignation, and rejected the Imperial Household Minister's suggestion: 'Let us appoint MATSUDAIRA as a Court official.' Since it seems mysterious, I am intending to examine the matter when I return."

As I was leaving, the Prince asked: "Has the President of the South Manchuria Railway Co. been appointed? I hope that persons such as HAYAKAWA, Tetsuji will not be appointed as its president." I answered: "It seems that the President will be named after mutual consultation of the War Ministry and the Ministry of Overseas Affairs," and returned on the 3rd.

On the evening of the 5th, after the farewell banquet held for the officials selected by the Ministry of Finance to proceed to their new posts in the newly established state of Manchukuo, I left on the 11 P.M. train for Shizuoka and reached the city at dawn. On the morning of the 6th, I met Prince SAIONJI.

On the 6th, at 11 A.M., Count UCHIDA was finally installed as Foreign Minister. I returned on the 6th and met the Foreign Minister in the afternoon of the 7th.

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Uchida's Successor to the S.M.R.

On the evening of the 8th I heard from the news reporters that: "It seems that KAJIWARA, Nakaji will be appointed as President of the South Manchuria Railway Co." About 6:30 P.M., I received a phone call from the Ministry of Overseas Affairs stating that: "KIKUCHI, parliamentary councillor, will be dispatched to your place as the Minister's messenger." KIKUCHI came over and said: "It has been decided unofficially to have KAJIWARA, Nakaji (as President of South Manchuria Railway Co.). His name has not yet been proposed at the Cabinet meeting, but it will be selected in the end." Therefore the Minister said, 'Please inform Prince SAIONJI first,' so I came here." He left after I had thanked him. I immediately reported the matter to Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu.

While I was dining with a group from the Police Bureau of the Home Ministry, Asahi news reporters at Kinraku came over and said: "It seems that FUJIWARA, Ginjiro was appointed as President of the South Manchuria Railway Co. The Army raised an objection and there is trouble between the Army and the Ministry of Overseas Affairs." Late in the evening I phoned the War Minister and inquired about the situation. The War Minister said: "The Army submitted four candidates - KAJIWARA, Nakaji; KODAMA, Hideo; YOSHIDA, Toyohiko; and KABAYAMA, Shiei. The Army and Vice-Minister KOISO voiced their approval: 'KAJIWARA is capable,' and the matter had been settled in favor of KAJIWARA. However, when I returned to the War Ministry, I heard: 'There are doubtful points about KAJIWARA,' so I had KAJIWARA investigated. I have been talking with the Overseas Minister until now. The Overseas Minister repeatedly

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recommended KAJIKAWA. Since the matter was so complicated, with many recommendations, I thought of going back to a clean slate and thinking it over, or of appointing someone like ICHIKI, Otohiko or HAYAKAWA, Tetsuji, who have never been recommended so far. At present, the question is whether to promote Vice-President HATTA to the presidency or to appoint HAYAKAWA, Tetsuji. I asked the Overseas Minister to think this matter over till tomorrow morning, and we parted."

Therefore I advised the War Minister: "I will be straightforward with you. If you recommend such persons as ICHIKI, Otohiko or HAYAKAWA, it will reflect on your trustworthiness and also on the prestige of the Army. It is a fact that ICHIKI, Otohiko, together with IINO, Kichisaburo, was quite active in the political world once, and that originally he had a reputation as a notorious character. HAYAKAWA, Tetsuji is a man of established reputation. The other day, when I went to Okitsu, Prince SAIONJI told me: 'I hope that the Government does not appoint such a person as HAYAKAWA for President of the South Manchuria Railway Co.' Since I thought it impossible too, when I returned from Okitsu, I did not mention to the Premier or anyone else that Prince SAIONJI was very much concerned about the HAYAKAWA matter. It shocked me when I heard that HAYAKAWA might be appointed as President of the South Manchuria Railway Co. It was his relationship with HAYAKAWA that caused former War Minister YAMANASHI's falure in the latter half of his life. I also heard that persons such as MITSUI, Seiichiro of the Army and others were affiliated with HAYAKAWA. Although Prince SAIONJI

detests intervention, during the time when HAMAGUCHI was Premier, the problem of appointing the president of the South Manchuria Railway Co. was brought up. When the notorious KATAOKA, Chokuon was to be appointed as President Prince SAIONJI stopped Premier HAMAGUCHI from appointing KATAOKA. Therefore, SENGOKU finally became President of the South Manchuria Railway Co. When it concerns personnel matters in Manchuria and especially the President of the South Manchuria Railway Co., Prince SAIONJI stresses personality, and his primary objective is to have someone of stern integrity and one who has no connection with graft. With such a standard, persons such as HAYASHI, Tetsuji and ICHIKI, Otohiko are out of the question. Taking these facts into consideration, their appointment will never materialize."

When I phoned Lt. Colonel SUZUKI of the Army, he said: "There are some young officials in the Finance Ministry who object to having KAJIWARA appointed President of the South Manchuria Railway Co. They give such reasons as: 'KAJIWARA has a smack of the Minseito about him because he has visited YAMAMOTO, Tatsuo (Leader of the Minseito) very often.'"

I then telephoned AOKI, Kazuo at the Finance Ministry to inquire into the truth of the matter, but according to AOKI, the young officials in the Finance Ministry do not think KAJIWARA to be incapable for the position. AOKI stated: "I do not know who told you such a story, but it is in error." I also told AOKI: "Since I am also aware that KAJIWARA is not connected with any large firms and is not a person who would often visit Baron YAMAMOTO to recommend himself, please ask YUKI,

Toyotaro to telephone the War Minister directly and bring these points to his attention."

Early the following morning, 9th, I met the Premier and told him the whole story. The Premier was fully aware that ICHIKI and HAYAKAWA were incompetent for the position of President of the South Manchuria Railway Co. I heard from the Premier of the great misunderstanding concerning the affair of the Grand Chamberlain. It also became clear that the Imperial Rescript matter was exactly as Prince SAIONJI supposed. In short, the Premier's concern unexpectedly coincided with that of Prince SAIONJI and it was in consequence of this concern that the Premier made the broadcast. The Premier fully understands the slip which occurred involving the State Minister and the Emperor. The Premier approved my opinion to advise the Chief Secretary of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

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Chapter 48
(16 July 1932)

Clash with Lytton

Translated by Fumiko Segawa

At the Cabinet meeting held on the 13th, the Foreign Minister declared: "Should Lord Lytton every say: 'Delay the recognition of Manchukuo', I am planning to explain to him that the recognition of Manchukuo (by Japan) and the investigation of Manchuria conducted by the League of Nations are two separate matters; and out of necessity, Japan desires to recognize immediately."

Deliberation on the bill securing the status of government officials has been put off until the next Cabinet meeting, because amendments to the original bill were proposed by Seiyukai ministers.

On the 14th when I visited TAKAHASHI, Finance Minister, he said: "When the matter of the presidency of the South Manchuria Railway was discussed sometime ago, I said something about KABAYAMA, Aisuke. Some people have construed this as meaning that I recommended Count KABAYAMA. This is entirely untrue. I saw the name KABAYAMA, Sukehide, so I merely said: 'Isn't Aisuke a better man than Sukehide?' I did not recommend Count KABAYAMA."

"The War Minister telephoned and inquired about HAYAKAWA, Tetsuji. He asked: 'Do you know HAYAKAWA, Tetsuji? What sort of a person is he?'

"I answered, 'I have heard that he is an able man, but I haven't seen him lately, so I wouldn't know much.'"

So, I told him (TAKAHASHI): "In such cases, you should clearly state that an unfit person is unfit. Otherwise people who desire to accomplish their objects amidst confusion will take advantage of their opportunity and

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put over their schemes; please be careful."

He (TAKAHASHI) said: "It may be necessary to convene the Diet at the end of August."

On the point that the editorial tenor of the Kokumin Shimbun (newspaper) had become dubious recently, he (TAKAHASHI) said: "KUHARA bought the Kokumin Shimbun through a broker named ITO, and in all probability, he won't pay a farthing, so that means that NEZU, Kaichiro will suffer a total loss. However, even if he isn't able to collect, the Kokumin Shimbun has had a monthly deficit of 70 to 80 thousand yen and has sustained a loss of 4,300,000 yen up to now, so it will still be a stroke of good luck if there's someone who'll take it over."

"Several days ago, a reporter from the Nichi-Nichi Shimbun came to me and said: 'A captain of a destroyer attached to the Yokosuka Naval Station was assaulted by sailors. There still seems to be a mysterious under-current in the Navy.' Therefore, I telephoned Vice-Minister FUJITA of the Navy Ministry to ascertain the truth of the matter, but it wasn't true. It was a rumor which was started by businessmen of the ADACHI faction.

"Ever since the Kokumin Shimbun was bought by KUHARA the tenor of its editorials has been destructive and very vulgar."

I then left the Finance Minister and went to the Foreign Ministry, where TANI, the Asia Bureau Chief said: "At the interview between Lord LYTTON and the Foreign Minister, Lord LYTTON brought up the subject of the recognition (of Manchukuo) which resulted in a head-on collision which he himself invited. Therefore the Investigation Commission is in a position where it must mitigate the

atmosphere a little, before it leaves. Sometime ago the British and French ambassadors had strongly advised the Foreign Minister: 'Do not precipitate the recognition (of Manchukuo)' and: 'Do not state Japan's final resolution at the first conference with Lord LYTTON's commission.' Now it seems as though it was their own blunder for bringing up the recognition problem."

I left on the morning of the 14th and returned after making a general report to Prince SAIONJI. On my way back, I stopped at the Foreign Ministry and met SHIRATORI. SHIRATORI said: "We haven't seen you much recently, but once in a while let's have dinner together. You seem to despise MORI, but actually he isn't a bad person. Why don't you see him occasionally?"

I answered: "I am not trying to evade meeting him, but it only makes me feel uncomfortable talking to people who are making a direct effort to knock down the present Cabinet. If there's hope that MORI would hear what I have to say, I don't mind seeing him, but judging from character, I think there's no hope."

SHIRATORI stated repeatedly: "The next Cabinet must be a coalition cabinet with the Seiyukai as the nucleus." He told me: "Lt. Col. SUZUKI met the President of the Seiyukai recently and talked on various matters", so when I went home, I phoned the War Ministry and had Lt. Col. SUZUKI come over about 4 P.M. We talked for about 2 hours. Regarding the talk he had with the President of the Seiyukai, Lt. Col. SUZUKI said: "Today, a coalition Cabinet is being advocated, but actually the Seiyukai and the Minseito will start acting like cats and dogs the minute they are concerned with the choice of persons for

important government offices. With such a tendency, they cannot expect the nation's confidence. Political parties should give national policies first consideration. Political parties should function so that the parliamentary form of government can develop satisfactorily. Especially in this present unfavorable situation, the Foreign Powers are maintaining a comparatively quiet attitude on the Manchukuo problem. However, I think that they will bring pressure upon Japan several years from now. In preparation for that moment, it is necessary that sufficient preparations be made from today. Preparedness means that we must have a firm determination both for war and peace." He added: "The Seiyukai should take up a positive and clear attitude and trust national policies to the government and if they are adopted, so much the better. If they are not adopted, become an absolute opposition party and help those policies of the Cabinet that should be helped and oppose those that should be opposed. There is no sense in just going along together in the same Cabinet."

I then telephoned former Premier INUKAI's residence about 7 P.M. and asked for KEN. I told him: "Since it is 'Obon' I would like to come over to worship (the spirit of the former Premier INUKAI)". KEN answered: "Secretary-General (of Seiyukai) YAMAGUCHI is here now and we were just talking about you. We would like to see you by all means, so I'll have YAMAGUCHI stay here." Therefore I went over to INUKAI's place and offered incense before the spirit (of former Premier INUKAI), then went to Horyu with YAMAGUCHI and KEN and talked on various matters. They advised: "MORI is repeatedly saying to HATOYAMA: 'The Seiyukai will present an unreasonable policy and

overthrow the Cabinet as soon as possible', or: 'let's pass a resolution of non-confidence against NAGAI, Minister of Overseas Affairs, or: 'let's demand that Finance Minister TAKAHASHI's name be stricken off the party register at a meeting of interested members. He is only thinking of overthrowing the Cabinet as soon as possible and HATOYAMA is trying to mitigate this. Even if the rationalist faction may have a larger number, the minority will lead in view of the general trend of the political atmosphere in case of a Diet meeting. If the die-hard faction is going to win on important issues, these problems cannot be carelessly disregarded by the government; it has to take serious consideration of these matters immediately. First of all, the Chief Cabinet Secretary is problem number one. It is an unpleasant fact that the Chief Cabinet Secretary plays tricks and provokes antipathy on every matter. Why not place HORIKIRI, Director of the Bureau of Legislation, in the post of Chief Cabinet Secretary as a measure to mitigate the present atmosphere?"

Since I felt the same on the whole, I departed saying: "I don't know about taking up the matter directly with the Premier, but I'll talk to the proper authorities and see whether some adjustment can be made through suitable means."

On the morning of the 16th, at 9 A.M., I called on the Premier at his official residence and spoke to him about the discussion held with YAMAGUCHI and INUKAI, so as to make him aware of the problem in general. The Premier seemed to have understood the gist of the conversation. I did not say emphatically: "By all means replace the Chief Cabinet Secretary." I left his place after telling him:

"The Chief Cabinet Secretary is the central figure in provoking ill-feeling against the Cabinet. It is necessary to prevent this ill-feeling from rising before the Diet convenes."

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Chapter 49
(30 July 1932)

Okawa and Tokugawa

Translated by Fumiko Segawa

On the evening of July 16, I left for Shizuoka to go to Prince SAIONJI's. On the morning of the 17th, I accompanied Prince SAIONJI to Gotemba, and after making a general report to him returned home. On the 19th, I dropped in at the Foreign Ministry; I went to SHIRATORI's room. He had a visitor, so I didn't enter his room. I visited TANI and ARITA, the Vice-Minister, and later returned to SHIRATORI's room. I asked him: "When I looked into your room a short time ago, a doubtful looking character was with you. Who is that fellow?" SHIRATORI answered: "Oh, he's MURAKAMI, Tokujiro, a person whom Lt. Col. SUZUKI is well acquainted with." I said to SHIRATORI: "Are you by any chance contriving something -- I wonder. Don't ever do anything foolish or you are going to cause a lot of trouble. Whatever you may think of doing, please remember that Prince SAIONJI, whom you personally know well, is still alive. I feel that since you have a rather good understanding of his political principles, you would never under any circumstances do anything to interfere with his public service to the Emperor. However, please give due consideration to what I'm now saying to you. In any case, you won't do anything clandestinely without my knowledge, will you?"

To this he said: "No, I'm hiding nothing from you. I want you to keep this to yourself. The person who was here awhile ago is an intimate friend of Lt. Col. SUZUKI. He came for the following reason. Leading financiers are obsessed by severe apprehensions (over the Army's activities)

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and are incapable of continuing their enterprises unless the real objectives of the Army are clearly known. Prominent financiers, such as IKEDA, Seihin, YUKI, Toyotaro and GO, Seinosuke, have asked me to arrange a meeting with leading officials of the Army. In compliance with this request, I have been making secret arrangements to have them meet a group of leading Army officials such as NAGATA, Tetsuzan; OKAMURA, Neiji; SUZUKI, Teiichi and YAMASHITA, Tomofumi; in the near future. The person (MURAKAMI, Tokujiro, friend of SUZUKI, Teiichi), who was here awhile ago, had come to discuss this forthcoming meeting. From the Foreign Office, TANI, Masayuki and I (SHIRATORI) will be present at the meeting."

To this, I said: "Such a meeting is especially necessary; it's a desirable thing," and we parted saying: "Let's meet with MORI sometimes and have dinner together." The following day I called on IKEDA, Seihin of Mitsui Bank and YUKI, Toyotaro of Kogyo Bank, and told them: "I heard from SHIRATORI in private that you are going to meet with certain officers in the Army. My earnest desire is that you will be very cautious, advising them to go forward in a constitutional manner. Pertaining to the capitalists, I also wish you to seek an understanding on the significance of their existence. Perhaps, up to now, even if there were many instances of the capitalists supporting delegates because of connections, favouritism or for rights and interests, upon my word, they'll never do it again. In short, even if there are instances when one needs support, they'll never support him until they look into his character and views and find that he is

salutary material to the nation. Under certain circumstances, if there's someone whom they truly believe would be promising material for the nation in promoting the substance of the Empire, . they'll gladly support him with the desire to have him elected a member of the Diet. I earnestly desire that you will make them understand that to defend the constitutional government is today our duty to the country. I would like them to understand gradually that fascism and the desire to fight blindly are, on the contrary, not good, and also that they would not be guided by public opinion." They seemed to have understood the point of my statement.

The following day I visited Governor-General UGAKI at his private residence and the General said: "It seems that OKAWA is saying that he has some connection with me; this is quite embarrassing. It is also very unpleasant for me to say anything emphatically which might sound like an excuse. However, as I have already told you previously, I have had no close relations with OKAWA personally. With various groups saying this and that, I am in an awkward position. However, I don't think it will be difficult if ARAKI truly desires to revive control. But I can't feel reassured with today's incompleteness. I think that in some cases one has to carry things out with determination by dismissing two or three lieutenant-generals. War Minister ARAKI is really a man of noble character, but he is a disputant and I think he lacks the ability to take action. HATA, Chief of Military Police, is a man who resorts to tricks; he wasn't a suitable character for the Central Administrative Office and so was assigned to district offices. And also, I do not like Vice-Minister KOISO, who abuses my name."

So I said: "I reckon that you are truly thinking of reviving the control of the Army, but with your present just and upright attitude, if you will support the War Minister and be favourably disposed toward the execution of his plans you will clarify your standpoint, and it will truly benefit the Army. With the feeling of returning good for evil, make up your mind to support the War Minister as the central figure and to plan for the restoration of discipline in the Japanese Army. I think that this would be the best way for you to serve your country." Then Governor-General UGAKI said: "He is good by nature and is not a bad person as I have mentioned before, and I feel like supporting him. Anyway, I am thinking of having a long chat with the War Minister within two or three days."

Therefore, the central figures in the Army at present are very observant toward Governor-General UGAKI's actions. FUJINUMA, Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board, recently told me: "This is just between you and me, but the Chief of the Kempei Tai said to me: 'Keep watch on Governor-General UGAKI's movements.'"

In the morning, when Major General NAGATA, Col. YAMASHITA, and Lt. Col. SUZUKI came over to my place, I told them of my meeting with Governor-General UGAKI and the import of the conversation with him in general, with the intention of setting the central figures in the Army at ease, although I did not know what sort of response I'd get. However, they did not seem to have felt badly about it. In the afternoon, just for his information, I went to the Premier's place and gave him the import of the talk I had with UGAKI, Governor-General of Korea. The Premier had met the Governor-General in the morning, and

it seemed that the Governor-General had already told the same story to the Premier.

In order to have UGAKI and ARAKI come together, on my way back I stopped by at the official residence of GOTO, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, and asked his assistance. The Minister of Agriculture and Forestry is a close friend of War Minister ARAKI through the "Kokui Kai", and is also a good friend of Governor-General UGAKI. Having such connections, I believed that GOTO, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, would be the very man to ask for help, so I told him about the matter and he responded saying: "I'll do my best."

On the 21st, I went to the Prince's place and reported in general the import of the talk I had with Governor-General UGAKI. The Prince had a copy of a book on the most recent diplomacy written by Dr. Kin ASHIDA, formerly of the Foreign Ministry and the Prince said with admiration: "This is an exceptionally handy book of recent publication, and is written practically and plainly upon recent diplomacy." He also said: "Please thank Mr. ASHIDA."

After returning from Gotemba, I dropped in at the Foreign Ministry and met SHIRATORI, who said: "I have a favor to ask of you. Jusshi (Nobumi) ITO, who returned recently from attending the meetings of the League of Nations, delivered a lecture in the presence of the Emperor. He covered the situation in the League of Nation's Assembly, the present international situation, and of course, the main problem -- Manchukuo. In conclusion, when he said: 'It is necessary that at a time like this, You (the Emperor) should rule over Japan with the same feeling Emperor JIMMU had when he governed Japan', the Emperor

looked very displeased. The Emperor later said: 'ITO's opinion regarding diplomacy should be submitted in writing.' Jusshi ITO, on his way back from Geneva passed through Manchukuo and was inoculated with radical ideas by the many young officers there. Therefore, he made such an imprudent remark out of sympathy with the young officers." He then asked me: "Could you please inquire about the details of his lecture in the presence of the Emperor?"

It seems that, recently, lectures are being delivered frequently in the Imperial Presence by novices. Whether they are secretaries at the Foreign Ministry or from the Army, such activities are being carried on without the consent of the ministers under whose jurisdiction they work, through direct negotiations with the Vice-Minister of the Imperial Household and the Grand Chamberlain. I decided to inquire into this matter since I myself felt a distaste for having lectures in the Imperial Presence by people whose character and fame have not been given due consideration, although they are experts in their field.

On the morning of July 25, at 9 A.M., I met the Minister of Justice, who said: "It seemed that, up to now, TACHIBANA (Aikyo-Juku) was under the protection of the Kempei Tai, but recently there has been a complete change in attitude and he finally gave himself up at Harbin. Then, I had Marquis Yoshichika TOKUGAWA, the person I mentioned to you before, come over secretly to the HOSO KYOKAI (Legal Association), where we conducted an investigation. At first, there was an incident about SHIMIZU threatening the Shufu No Tomo (Women's

Magazine). He was arrested and while he was being investigated, we also heard about the March Incident. When the Procuratorial Office said to Marquis TOKUGAWA: 'We have something to ask you about', he answered: 'I have an agreement with SHIMIZU, and am unable to say anything.' Then, we asked SHIMIZU to address a letter to Marquis TOKUGAWA, but instead, he wrote a letter to SHIBUYA, Marquis TOKUGAWA's steward. When we investigated Marquis Yoshichika TOKUGAWA at the Hoso Kyokai on July 10, his story began about February of last year:

> The late General YASHIRO was formerly a clansman, and due to that relationship Marquis Yoshichika was on friendly terms with him and regarded him with high respect. General YASHIRO had social reformation in mind, so widened his circle of acquaintances. Naturally, he became acquainted with OKAWA and when he became ill in his late years, OKAWA said: 'I'll try the finger pressure therapeutics', and treated him attentively. After that, he became closely associated with OKAWA. I myself sympathize with social reconstruction. Then, sometime in February, OKAWA spoke to me about the reconstruction scheme, saying that General UGAKI and some others in the General Staff Office approved the plan to establish connections with the Army, then gather the vagrants in Uyeno and Shiba Park without much violence, and have them storm the Diet. SHIMIZU came over sometime in April and said: 'Since there's no financial support from the Army, you furnish us ¥200,000 and if this thing materializes you will be the Minister of the Imperial Household.' So I (Marquis TOKUGAWA) told SHIMIZU: 'I have no qualifications for the position of Minister of the Imperial Household, but would rather recommend Prince KONOYE.' When SHIMIZU told me (TOKUGAWA): 'I am entrusted with 300 pieces of dummy gun shell', I (TOKUGAWA) said: 'It's foolish to cause alarm instead of raising such violence, let's submit this matter to the Emperor.' Then SHIMIZU declared: 'It is futile to report this matter to the Emperor, for it will hold up the completion of my work.' In compliance with their request, the sum of approximately ¥200,000 was handed to SHIBUYA between the middle of February and the middle of March. On March 20, someone from the Army stated: 'Owing to circumstances, it was decided to drop the matter, and we need ¥50,000 to deal with the aftermath.' Therefore, I handed ¥50,000 to SHIMIZU. However, SHIMIZU did not accept this. Then Marquis

Yoshichika said: 'Of the ¥200,000, very likely, half of the sum went to OKAWA and the other half to SHIMIZU and the other.' According to SHIMIZU's story: 'The Army requested the return of the bombs, but in order to reproach the sudden reversal of attitude in the Army, I planned not to return it, but I was told that Prince KANIN was very much concerned about it and on March 8, Vice-Minister KOISO told me: 'Return it', so it was loaded on the truck from a transportation company in Shimbashi and returned to Lt. Col. NEMOTO of the General Staff.Office. It was handed over at Shimbashi in the presence of NAGATANI, Shinichi and Lt. Col. HASHIMOTO, but of the lot, 12 pieces were missing."

"I then met Governor-General UGAKI regarding other business. At that time I heard many things from the Governor-General: 'When Vice-Minister KOISO, at the time when I (UGAKI) was War Minister about the middle of February of last year, said to me: 'I would like you to meet OKAWA, who is from the same province as myself', I was obliged to meet OKAWA. Then OKAWA said to me: 'We will hold a demonstration, so even if troops are dispatched, we wish not to be subjected to great pressure', so I told him: 'Nonsense, that's our business.' When he said: 'We would like to get some bombs from the Army', I told him: 'It's really atrocious to face a War Minister and ask him for bombs. I can't do it.' He then said: 'If we do this, the Cabinet will fall and then we would like you to be the head of the Cabinet', but I parted with him saying: 'I can't participate in such a scheme.' I saw him two or three times after that, but he seems to be a suspicious person and he says very unpleasant things, so I also warned KOISO about meeting him. I also heard from KOISO that the matter was progressing rapidly, so I said: 'That's not good', and advised him to be on guard. In general, OKAWA's tory, SHIMIZU's story,

Marquis TOKUGAWA's story and Governor-General UGAKI's story all seem to be alike. I think the actual facts of the incident will become clear if proof can be obtained from OKAWA and from the past and present investigations. In that event, let's meet again," and then I parted with the Minister of Justice.

In the evening, I heard: "Count Hakutaro HAYASHI was chosen President of the South Manchuria Railway Co." As this happened so suddenly, I thought it strange. That night I wavered between doubt and belief and the following morning, since NAGATA, HAMA and SUZUKI, from the Army, were coming to breakfast at 7:30 A.M., I telephoned NAGAI, Minister of Overseas Affairs and inquired about the situation. NAGAI apologetically said: "I have no words to apologize for it. I should have notified you much sooner, but to be frank with you, I had left the matter up to the Premier, and even I thought it strange." Later, I telephoned GOTO, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, about this matter; he seemed to have thought it to be an unlooked-for event.

The group from the Army were having breakfast when GOTO, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, came over and talked for about an hour on various matters and left. It seems that Count HAYASHI's appointment as President of the South Manchuria Railway Co. will be decided upon today (July 26), at the Cabinet meeting. We parted saying: "It can't be helped." I heard later from the Premier, who said: "I decided on Count HAYASHI because even the fault-finding Army thought that he would fit the post." Later when I met the War Minister, he said: "This matter aroused hotility between Count KODAMA and

Chuji KAJIWARA. Therefore we decided on Count HAYASHI because we thought he would have no trouble." That evening, HAYASHI became President of the South Manchuria Railway Co., by Imperial Sanction.

The people in the Army began discussing the next Cabinet, and they talked extensively saying: "It will be futile if we don't have young people. It is distressing that the political parties haven't come to their senses yet. Japan's present situation cannot possibly be saved unless a person like Prince KONOYE will become the Premier and have ministers that are about 50 years of age."

The other night at the dinner table, sitting together with MORI, SHIRATORI, and SUZUKI, I said: "That's no good", when they remarked: "Do something about the present Cabinet", "have a new Cabinet," etc. They said: "You needn't support the present Cabinet", so I told them: "You are trying to overthrow the Cabinet by force. A natural break-up of the Cabinet cannot be helped, but it is wrong to do anything by force", and parted from them that night.

When I returned from Gotemba, after spending the 26th and 27th there, MORI came to see me immediately and said: "Tell me the actual facts about the formation of a SAITO Cabinet", so I told him: "From my standpoint, I am unable to state anything concerning this matter", and told him in general the reason for the appearance of a cooperative Cabinet. He then asked me: "What do you think should be done?", so I answered: "The only remedy is to force this Cabinet to work hard." Then MORI said in his peculiar manner, "It would be nice if the Seiyukai

would give complete support to the Cabinet, but it is much better to break it up if no support is to be given. However, I think it's outrageous to do things by halves", and wanted me to sympathize with him, but I kept quiet. He then said that he would come over to see me frequently, especially next month, just before the Diet convenes. I told him: "Come over any time. However, please bear in mind that I won't always be able to say things that will please you."

Since I feel that the Army, the Seiyukai, and a part of the Minseito all harbour some displeasure toward the Chief Secretary, I am planning to tell the Premier: "It is necessary, somehow, to change the Chief Secretary," although I have previously spoken to the Premier on this matter.

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Chapter 50
(4 September 1932)

Indiscreet Emperor

Translated by Mr. Jiro Arakawa

On the evening of July 29th I visited the official residence of Prince HIGASHIKUNI and he said: "How is it recently? I cannot understand the present Army with its young officers. Then too, men like Mr. Harada, who always meet such great figures as Cabinet ministers, would not understand the younger groups of the Army. The Army says that it has everything under control, but that is only words with very little significance. He continued: "The Japanese Kwantung Army and Manchukuo persistently objected to permitting Dr. Wellington KOO and the Investigating Commission to enter Manchukuo. However, the Emperor said: 'Permit Dr. Wellington KOO to enter Manchukuo,' so they were allowed through the Emperor's permission. Then again the Emperor whispered, referring to the time of the INUKAI Incident, 'the problem would have been much simpler if Mukden had been returned to CHANG-HSUEH-LIANG, but since the Army acted foolishly it happened like this.' Then, before the departure of the Army commander, who interviewed the Emperor, to Shanghai, the Emperor urged; 'Settle the problem quickly and return home soon.'

"My opinion is that the Emperor is speaking too much in detail in giving out orders. For instance, when he appointed the Army Commander of Shanghai the Emperor said: 'Return quickly,' and 'don't make it a large affair but settle it as soon as possible'. These are unnecessary words for the Emperor to say. However, I believe that the preceding two stories, respecting

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Dr. Wellington KOO and the INUKAI affair, are actually propaganda and are not true.

"According to the Shanghai Army Commander, the two delicate international problems are: 1.- The fact that Shanghai is an international city, and 2.- The present-day Manchukuo problem. Therefore, at this stage, it is necessary that the Shanghai Incident be concluded as quickly as possible.

"The fact that His Majesty is concerned over the lives of the armed forces reveals his high character and virtue; and this is a thing we should feel most overjoyed about. Now for a person to say as Your Highness (Prince HIGASHIKUNI) is saying: 'this is outrageous' as if it (the Emperor's word) were uncalled for, is a very undesirable thing. What Your Highness says is mainly sensational and gossipy and I feel this is a very casual, indiscreet attitude."

To this His Highness (Prince HIGASHIKUNI) said: "Well, I speak because it is you, HARADA."

Again Prince HIGASHIKUNI said: "Within the Nagoya Regiment, among the officers and non-commissioned men who were involved in the May 15th Incident, there is a movement now to give relief to families involved. As a Japanese subject, one should first of all pay respect to the Imperial Family. As a subject, one must accept the virtues of the Emperor, and the people should not criticize the Imperial Family. First of all, the Imperial Family should by all means exhibit all virtues towards the state." Thus two hours were spent in discussing the above subject with Prince HIGASHIKUNI and then I left for home.

In regard to Japanese nationals, the center of the state is, I believe, the Imperial Family.

Then on August 1st I met the Navy Minister, at which time he said: "A secret agreement has been made between the Naval General Staff and the Army General Staff. First of all, we must, as far as possible, avoid war with Russia and the United States. And to withdraw from the League of Nations would be wrong. It would be better to avoid war with Russia and United States, but should it come we should vigorously make necessary preparations." Then I (HARADA) was worried over the propaganda because recently the younger officers of the Army and the Navy had said: "We will fight Russia," or "we will fight against America." A secret agreement had existed between the Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff and the Vice-Chief of the Army General Staff.

At that time, Commissioner-General of the Manchukuo Government, KOMAI returned from Manchukuo, and I met him unexpectedly at the Foreign Office. And so I recommended him to the Prince. At that time, the Foreign Vice Minister, ARITA, told me: "Ambassador to Italy, YOSHIDA wants to return home badly and wishes to hear the situation here, and I would like to know the facts abroad, so the Foreign Minister gave him orders to return home. Simultaneously, Ambassador to Russia, HIROTA, Koki will be recalled. There are such agreements as the Non-Aggression Pact and perhaps the Chinese Eastern Railway and other problems pending with Russia, that I would like to confer upon. And then, regarding Ambassador DEBUCHI, I forwarded a personal letter to him, urging his return, so that he could bring it home with him as proof.

Should Ambassador DEBUCHI return to Japan he will probably not go back to America. In that case, it was said, YOSHIDA, Ambassador to Italy, may be transferred to the United States.

During this time, gradually, criticisms began to appear against Foreign Minister UCHIDA in such remarks as: "There's a definite lack of policy in dealing with the League of Nations," and: "When you had an interview with CHIANG TSUO-PIN, the Chinese Ambassador to Japan, there were complaints that his recall should be demanded." When I hear all the criticism, it seems to originate in Army circles. I recently met the Finance Minister, after a long time, and he said: "The preparation for this coming Diet is troublesome. Shall I tell you an interesting story? I wonder if you know it." Finance Minister TAKAHASHI continued to say: "Don't you know anything about it? As a matter of fact, Mr. YAMAMOTO, the Minister of Home Affairs, wanted Mr. MIYAWAKI, the Prefectural Governor, who is the younger brother of Mr. MITSUCHI the Railway Minister, to resign, because he had too much influence with the Seiyukai. In order to carry out the plan, Minister MITSUCHI was called, to get his approval, because of his relationship to the Prefectural Governor MIYAWAKI. So Mr. MOCHIZUKI, Keisuke was called in by Minister YAMAMOTO who said: 'I will have the Prefectual Governor MIYAWAKI resign, so please tell MITSUCHI, the Railway Minister, not to feel badly about it.'

"Mr. MOCHIZUKI, Keisuke conveyed the message to Mr. MITSUCHI and later Mr. MOCHIZUKI appeared twice at Mr. YAMAMOTO, the Home Minister's place. Mr. MOCHIZUKI

said to the Home Minister, according to MITSUCHI's story: 'I have three brothers. At present, all three are in government service. And besides I have my 92 year old mother. She takes great pride in us because of our present work. If Mr. MIYAWAKI is made to resign from office I shall hate to see her regret. I don't know how much mother will be disappointed. So at this time, if it can be avoided, I would not like to have Mr. MIYAWAKI resign.' Whereupon, the Home Minister, Mr. YAMAMOTO greatly affected by the above story, said: 'Well, I shall withdraw my intention to have him resign,' and so Prefectural Governor MIYAWAKI was able to retain his position.

"After this conversation was over, YAMAMOTO and MITSUCHI met, at which time MITSUCHI said: 'Probably TAKAHASHI will resign after the extraordinary session is adjourned.' This special Diet session was convened at the time when Premier SAITO's Cabinet was formed. For Finance Minister, it seems that MITSUCHI and YAMAMOTO said to each other: 'It will be good to have you do it,' or 'No, I won't do (as Finance Minister).'

"YAMAMOTO spoke to me about Prefectural Governor MIYAWAKI's story with great concern and sympathy." Then Finance Minister remarked: "It's a rather foolish story, isn't it?" In short, what the Finance Minister said was: "I believe MITSUCHI will succeed me."

Then, TAKAHASHI asked me (HARADA): 'Incidentally, what sort of a person is this MINAMI, the Communications Minister? He is a very evasive person and Prince SAIONJI has a high regard for him, but I don't know what he's like." Therefore, I replied: "As a man, he

is wonderful, but it seems that he doesn't know too much." As for GOTO, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, the Finance Minister said: "It seems that he (GOTO) is politically Minseito, but he is a splendid serious person, and a good minister."

On August 3rd, when I met Premier SAITO, he said: "The Diet will probably meet on the 22nd or 23rd of August. Finance Minister TAKAHASHI seems to be in poor health. He is saying that he would like to resign, but I urged him not to until this Diet is completed; then he can rest. He has a deep sense of responsibility and I believe that he will do as much as he can."

I met HATOYAMA, the Education Minister, and inquired about the coming Diet Session, to which he replied: "I would like to make this Diet session as successful as possible." I believe that the War Minister has no intention of upsetting any plans. It is certain that as a whole everybody seems to support this Cabinet, and I believe that there will be cooperation.

I went to Gotemba on the 4th and spoke to Prince SAIONJI of developments since my last visit. After touching upon various matters, Prince SAIONJI said: "Previously, Prince KONOYE said: 'How about selecting Prince CHICHIBU for the position of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal?' At that time, I told Prince KONOYE: 'When it becomes so necessary that it can't be helped, that may be the only solution.'

Prince SAIONJI also said: "After thinking it over, I believe it will never do to have Prince CHICHIBU become Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. There is a possibility of his succeeding to the Throne. If he becomes

Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, it would be difficult for him later to relinquish his position, so that would be unsatisfactory. To have Prince CHICHIBU as Keeper of the Privy Seal is definitely not right as he comes from the Imperial Family. This also applies to the other members of the Imperial Family."

Prince SAIONJI asked me to convey the above views to Prince KONOYE. On my return trip from Gotemba, I stopped at Kamakura and called on Prince KONOYE. While dining, we talked about the recent situation. After supper, we asked Marquis KIDO, who lived in Zushi, to come over and the three of us talked on recent developments and exhanged views. I returned to Tokyo on the last train.

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Chapter 51
(7 September 1932)

Takamatsu's Bride

Translated by Lieut. Morio Morihara

When I met Navy Minister OKADA after that, he talked of MORI, and said: "It seems as if MORI is doing various things to break up the Cabinet. However, I wonder if this problem will not be settled if MORI is put in the Cabinet as a State Minister, and a member of the Seiyukai is appointed Minister of Home Affairs?"

The Navy Minister said to MORI: "Isn't it better to do things properly?"

OKAZAKI, Kunisuke then came and related his desires concerning the Cabinet. He said: "How about changing the Chief Cabinet Secretary before the opening of the session?" He also criticized the Minister of Overseas Affairs on various points.

I visited the Minister of the Imperial Household at his official residence in the afternoon. I heard about the details of Prince HIGASHI KUNI's visit to the AIKYO-Juku on his return from Oarai in Mito. I said: "I desire that KIDO be retained at his post." I also said that if KIDO should be appointed successor to Assistant Aide-de-Camp KAWAI, KIDO himself would not like it, and we, for various reasons, did not consider it a wise move. When I said this to the Minister of the Imperial Household, he said: "If KIDO should be transferred, he probably would be moved to a post which he dislikes most but you can rest assured that there will be no such action at present."

The Lord Keeper had said to me: "I desire to go to Gotemba on the 12th. I wonder if it is all right?" I

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went to Gotemba to ask about it; the Prince replied that he would be waiting.

The papers published various things, such as Count TANAKA, Koken's visit to the Minister of the Imperial Household and the Lord Keeper's visit to the Minister of the Imperial Household, and I became worried lest some problem had arisen. I went to the Minister of the Imperial Household's place at night and made inquiries.

I learned the following from the Minister of the Imperial Household. It was a very old story, but while Emperor MEIJI was still living, TANAKA, Koken, who was the Minister of the Imperial Household at that time, suggested that Emperor MEIJI's daughter be given in wedlock to Prince ARISUGAWA's son. Emperor MEIJI replied that he would not give his daughter to a family with psychopathic and mentally deranged ancestors. Many years after that, when talk of Prince TAKAMATSU's marriage was rumored, the Minister of the Imperial Household was reminded of Emperor MEIJI's words. In spite of this, the bride of Prince TAKAMATSU was selected from the TOKUGAWA family, which was related to Prince ARISUGAWA's, which was inexcusable. As a result, there are insistent demands for the present Minister of the Imperial Household to assume the responsibility. It was on the sixth of July, 2nd year of Taisho, (1913) that the title "Prince TAKAMATSU" was given. At that time, WATANABE, Chiaki was the Minister of the Imperial Household. There was a letter addressed to NISHI, Shinrokuro (Intendant at that time) from HIRAYAMA (Narinobu) which said:.

Oct. 20, 1916

"On June 2nd, 1913, Count WATANABE Chiaki, then Minister of the Imperial Household, visited the late Prince TAKEHITO at his sick bed at the villa in Maiko. He reported that it was informally arranged for the third Prince, NOBUHITO, to receive the title "Prince TAKAMATSU". If it would be convenient to have TOKUGAWA, Kikuko, when she had grown up, become the wife of Prince TAKAMATSU, his Imperial Highness Prince TAKEHITO said that he would be very happy. The Minister was also in complete agreement and saying that he would report this secretly to the Throne at the opportune moment, retired from his presence.."

There was also a letter from Minister of the Imperial Household HATANO, Keichoku, to NISHI, Shinrokuro, which said:

March 27, 1917

"The enclosed letter was received from the former Minister of the Imperial Household, WATANABE, Chiaki, concerning the bride of Prince TAKAMATSU. Before this, there was a similar letter from the Empress to the Minister of the Imperial Household, in December, 1916. At that time, it was not yet secretly agreed but it was understood that it would be taken care of in due time. I am sending you this letter for your reference.

"'As stated in my enclosed letter, on June 22, 1913, at the ARISUGAWA family villa in Maiko, when Prince TAKEHITO was seriously ill, I learned that the title "Prince TAKAMATSU" would be given to Prince NOBUHITO. There was a recent request that Kikuko, the second daughter of Prince TOKUGAWA, Yoshihisa, be given in marriage to him after she grew up. I reported this to the Throne after my return to Tokyo.'"

The following letter was addressed to the Minister of the Imperial Household, HATANO, from former Minister of the Imperial Household, WATANABE, dated February 25, 1917:

"On March 22, 1898, Chief Aide-de-Camp Marquis TOKUDAIJI, Sanenori, by Imperial order, visited the villa of Prince YUKIZANE, Takehito and relayed the message that he was to aid and encourage the Crown Prince as his friend. On June 12, 1903, Chief Aide-de-Camp TOKUDAIJI, by Imperial order, went to the Prince's villa during his illness and relayed to him the message that he was relieved of the task of tutoring the Crown Prince. However, he was to retain the title of Tutor."

(Ministers of the Imperial Household)

KOKEN TANAKA	February 9, 1898	to	June 16, 1909
TOMOSADA IWAKURA	June 16, 1909	to	April 1, 1910
CHIAKI WATANABE	April 1, 1910	to	April 9, 1914
KEICHORU HATANO	April 9, 1914	to	June 18, 1920
YUJIRO NAKAMURA	June 18, 1920	to	Feb. 19, 1921
SHINKEN MAKINO	February 19, 1921	to	March 30,1925
KITOKURO IKKI	March 30, 1925		

Title "Prince TAKAMATSU" conferred	July 6, 1915
First mention of marriage plans	April 5, 1929
Imperial sanction	April 13, 1929
Marriage	February 4, 1930

From that time, the Empress Dowager, who was then Empress, was greatly concerned, directly and indirectly, about the upbringing of the present Prince TAKAMATSU. It is since the present Minister of the Imperial Household was appointed that there are such things as formal betrothal presents and Imperial sanction of engagements. The situation did not permit any changes after the tenures of HATANO, NAKAMURA and MAKINO but if TANAKA Koken, was truly anxious concerning the marriage one may justly inquire why he did not relay this matter to his successor IWAKURA when he resigned the post of Minister of the Imperial Household.

TANAKA, Koken, threatened the Minister of the Imperial Household, IKKI, and said: "Who are you going to put the blame upon? If by any chance you do not assume the responsibility and do not resign, I will reveal it to the public."

Minister IKKI said: "I know all about it, but if I

should reveal such things at such a time and if it should arouse various issues among the persons in the Palace, it will not only cause Prince TAKAMATSU's unhappiness, but I will have no way of apologizing to the Emperor. If things were to subside with my resignation, I would think nothing of resigning."

IKKI visited TANAKA, Koken, yesterday and said: "Of course, since it has been a long time, I plan to resign. Since I am going to resign in the near future, will you refrain from revealing this to others? Let's both keep it a secret." Thus they parted.

For two weeks, the newspapers have had such headlines as: "A serious incident in the Imperial Household" and have discussed the responsibilities of the Minister of the Imperial Household and of other officials close to his Majesty. The Mainichi and Hochi newspapers have been writing under bold headlines as: "TANAKA rouses himself to action."

After listening to various subsequent details, TANAKA's followers, without knowing the true situation, went around selling news to various newspapers, saying that although they were not yet revealed, there were problemsfor which the higher officials of the Imperial Court were responsible. The Hochi and Mainichi often bought this material. TANAKA expressed a desire to see Minister of Home Affairs YAMAMOTO, but the Minister would not go. Director of the Police Bureau MATSUMOTO went instead because, among the matters in MATSUMOTO's jurisdiction, there was an incident in which TANAKA invited Prince HIGASHI KUNI to Oarai in Mito, and on his return, the Prince stopped at the AIKYO-Juku.

Because of this the Governor of Tochigi Prefecture handed in his resignation. The Director of the Police Bureau visited TANAKA, in order to learn the details of this happening.

TANAKA desired to meet the Minister of Home Affairs in order to express his opinions. Director of the Police Bureau, MATSUMOTO, lived in Iwabuchi in Shizuoka Prefecture, and knew TANAKA. TANAKA said to the Director of the Police Bureau MATSUMOTO: " I mention this because it is you; the Minister of the Imperial Household is responsible for the following things," and talked in minute details of the problem. He also cautioned him and said: "Please do not say anything until I speak of this problem to the Minister of Home Affairs." However, the Director of the Police Bureau said that he related everything to the Minister of Home Affairs when he came home. Since the Minister of the Imperial Household's last visit to TANAKA, TANAKA kept complete silence and returned quickly to Iwabuchi. Of course he did not reveal anything to the public, but before he departed he clearly left an impression that he had succeeded in forcing the Minister of the Imperial Household to resign.

Just before he left TANAKA visited the Minister of Home Affairs, YAMAMOTO, and said: "The matter of which I was about to tell you has been completely settled. Therefore I do not have anything to tell you, but concerning Prince HIGASHI KUNI's visit to the MEIKYO-Juku on his return from Oarai in Mito, I tried to stop him. Although he is a very sagacious Prince, the men surrounding him are very bad. This is a very undesir-

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able state of affairs." He even mentioned the names of the people close to the Prince, and seemed very worried.

The Minister of Home Affairs said: "Judging from these things it does not seem as if TANAKA suggested that the Prince stop over at the AIKYO School, or agreed to his actions."

After that I went to Gotemba and reported in complete detail of these things. The Prince said: "I wonder if the Justice Minister knows about this?" I said: "I do not think that he knows the details." I also told him of MATSUMOTO, Manabu's meeting with TANAKA in which TANAKA said that the Minister of the Imperial Household had to resign. I told him of Director MATSUMOTO's words, in which he said that there wasn't any appropriate individual for the posts of higher officials in the Imperial Palace, especially for the post of Minister of the Imperial Household. When MATSUMOTO said this, TANAKA immediately replied that although he did not know very well, he had heard that there was a man called HIRANUMA in the Privy Council.

The Prince said: "It is bad that the Justice Minister should be ignorant of such matters, at such a time. Why doesn't the Minister of Home Affairs, who is a state minister, confer mutually with the Justice Minister who has jurisdiction over judicial matters and who is similarly a state minister? When you return, tell all the details of the matter to the Justice Minister, and tell him that SAIONJI instructed you to do so."

SAIONJI continued: "Even if the Minister of the Imperial Household said such things, there is no necessity to have him resign. Even if the man in question

says that he will resign, what will happen if he is stopped? This is a queer story from the very beginning, and properly speaking there is absolutely no need for the Minister of the Imperial Household to assume the responsibility, saying: 'It is not good to arouse many problems.' At any rate, talk to the Justice Minister when you return."

Thus, on the 11th, I visited the Justice Minister at his private residence and spoke to him quite fully of the situation. The Justice Minister was not thoroughly acquainted with the details but he was generally aware of it.

I visited SHIRATORI on the 12th at the Foreign Ministry. SHIRATORI anxiously asked: "How about appointing the present War Minister ARAKI as the next Premier?" When I asked him why, he replied: "Up to now the exchange rate has dropped considerably. This is because Japan does not possess a strong government, and in foreign affairs, it is prodded from behind by the militarists, and it changes to the right even while it proclaims that the Empire's foreign policies are toward the left. This is very harmful to the country's reputation. Rather than that, it must be the policy of the present-day Japanese Empire to have ARAKI, who is a representative of the powerful militarists, become the Prime Minister, and to proceed upon an unwavering policy for five or six years."

I said: "How many years have you been a diplomat anyway? In our opinion it is bad to have the militarists, who should have no connections with politics, restrain the administration after it have once set its

policies. Not only that, the reason why Japan lost the confidence of other nations is absence of diplomacy. This results from the militarists' direct intervention in international problems; and not only that; they even interfere directly in domestic affairs. This is the reason for today's loss of trust. Therefore, in foreign relations, it is possible to regain this faith only by placing the militarists in the background. At the same time, from a domestic standpoint, freedom of action, without restrictions from militarists, is the basis for stabilizing the political situation. I believe that this is the fundamental issue in stabilizing the exchange rate." I parted with SHIRATORI after that.

MORI came later, and said: "The other day I went to SUZUKI's place, and told President SUZUKI to use YAMAMOTO Teijiro. The President replied: 'I hear that you have said that YAMAMOTO may be doing some time in jail as a result of the Silk Thread scandal... I hear that you said we should not use such a person. Isn't this a little different?' I asked him who said such things, and SUZUKI replied: 'I heard from INUKAI, Ken that you said such things to HARADA.' SUZUKI went on and said: 'I hear that you said that when I came back you would aid the government to the fullest extent. Either that or you would publicly oppose it to the very end. At any rate, you would not tread a middle road. I hear that you said you would strongly encourage me to be thorough in my actions.' I asked him who told him that and he replied: 'I heard it from INUKAI that you said such things to HARADA.' There are some who want to

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break up the relationship between SUZUKI, HATOYAMA, and myself, so be careful from now on."

I said to MORI: " Concerning YAMAMOTO, Teijiro's tale, I have heard it for the first time and have never heard about it before. Also I do not remember saying such things. There must be some mistake. INUKAI may have mistakenly made such statements. I do not know. Concerning the second thing, you came to my home and said such things before and such things happen often, so I checked with HATOYAMA and said: 'MORI said such things to me -- are they true?' Aside from that I do not know a thing." Thus I separated from MORI.

Around the 17th of August, OKAZAKI, Kunisuke came to my place and said: "I hear that you were cheated by TOKUTOMI concerning the TANAKA issue." He continued: "KOIZUMI, Sanshin, has great faith in Vice-Minister (of the Imperial Household) SEKIYA. Although I do not actually know whether he trusts him, at any rate, he praises him highly. The followers of MORI and KUHARA hold meetings at the Koyokan, ostensibly to inquire of the situation from Mr. KOIZUMI, and it seems that if SUZUKI does not become Premier they are planning the preliminaries of making KUHARA the President (of the Seiyukai). As long as MORI and KUHARA have severed their friendship, they cannot meet directly with each other. For this reason, the followers of both persons are holding meetings in order to do something before the special Diet session." I heard the same story from INUKAI, Ken.

I met KONOYE, and he said: "War Minister ARAKI is very critical of HATOYAMA, and praises Minister of Foreign Affairs NAGAI. He also is speaking very badly of the

recent actions of ANKO." KONOYE continued: "Originally we planned to appoint PU YI as President of the Kyowakai. At first, we had the name Kyowaic, and PU YI absolutely refused to become the President of it. Therefore, we changed the name to Kyowakai and appointed PU YI President against his wishes; but actually he has not yet accepted. People returning from Manchuria are saying that instead of Japanese-Manchurian friendship, it is absolutely necessary to have friendship among the Japanese themselves."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 52
(12 September 1932)

Radicals on Right and Left

Translated by T/Sgt. Takashi Matsuda

On the evening of August 18th, TANI, Chief of the Asia Bureau, had just proceeded to the Imperial Palace and had given a report concerning the Manchukuo problem to Prince CHICHIBU. He (Prince) said he wanted to meet Marquis KIDO at 5 P.M. KIDO thought: "Probably there he has a question regarding the activities of TANAKA." Therefore, he (KIDO) made a general preliminary arrangement with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. At the same time he said to me (HARADA): "Should the Prince (CHICHIBU) bring up such a question, I will pretend that I have no knowledge." Bearing that in mind, I proceeded to the Prince and inquired.

"What is the explanation of TANAKA activities of the other day?" he immediately asked. I answered: "I do not know anything in detail." Then I reported about the recent visit of Prince HIGASHIKUNI to Carai, especially about his stop at Aikyo-Juku (School for Rightists). In brief, I said to the Prince: "Although the Emperor has the authority to supervise the members of the Imperial Family, a person like the Prince should be thoughtful and give advice concerning the problems of the members of the Imperial Family, instead of causing concern by the Emperor on every little problem. The fact that Prince HIGASHIKUNI visited Aikyo-Juku indicates that he ignored the police authority of His Majesty. It is said that even now he says: 'I shall not trouble the prefectural governors.' Yet the prefectural governor said:

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'I discouraged him but he would not listen.' Therefore, he has finally filed a petition to resign. As a suspect of a recent great incident in our nation, it is beyond reason for a member of the Imperial Family to ignore the advice of the local authorities and stop ar Aikyo-Juku. Needless to say, it is undesireable conduct even for an ordinary person. I think that it is necessary to give your advice concerning such problems in certain instances . . ."

Then I spoke about other things. The Prince (CHICHIBU) also said: "Among the young soldiers there are still many clamorous groups who say: 'Those who are above the grade of field-officers cannot understand' and who do not even bother with them. Furthermore, ARAKI's popularity gradually has deteriorated also." He continued: "The trouble lies in the fact that those groups of men have the idea that what they think will be good for the nation."

I said: "When it comes to the destruction of the present social organization or to do this or that about society, the result is always the same. In the final analysis, it is against the law, and if it does not comply with the Army regulations all must be punished whether the motive is just or not. Otherwise the trust we have in laws cannot be maintained." After giving this report, I returned home about 9 P.M.

On the following day I met HATOYAMA, Minister of Education, at his official residence. He suddenly said to me: "Say, the Army is thinking of unreasonable things! At the ordinary session it is said that the Army will demand an appropriation of more than 500 million!

If a large appropriation like that is brought up, there is no one who will take the office as the Minister of Finance!" He spoke very angrily.

Since then MORI of the Seiyukai and an element of the military have been cooperating as usual to overthrow the present Cabinet. It seems that MORI wants HIRANUMA or ARAKI to head the Cabinet and to do as he wishes. Also, there is talk about a movement to make KUHARA President (of the Seiyukai), but this comes from only a small number and does not amount to anything. However, to illustrate how this is possible, it can be done when the Imperial order is not issued and the Emperor by-passes President SUZUKI. When that happens KUHARA will be put into the office. SHIMADA and others are active with the idea of "political party first".

Concerning the relation between ADACHI and KUHARA, INUKAI, Ken said: "KUHARA came while President INUKAI was still alive and President INUKAI knew that ADACHI had many government bonds that were not burnt during the Great Earthquake so he threatened him. ADACHI said: 'I'll bring them out.' Just then everything became unsettled because former Premier HAMAGUCHI was assassinated, and the fact that he was going to bring out the bonds and his resignation were gradually forgotten."

On the 20th of August I met the Director of the Metropolitan Police. He said: "In Tokyo a group from the Agricultural Cooperative Conference (Nomin Sogo Kaigi) arrested over thirty persons affiliated with the Rice Increasing Society (Kome Fuyase Kai), which was started in Tochigi Prefecture. The prefecture first

Bought 20,000 sacks of rice and stored it in a warehouse in Utsunomiya, and as I said before, it suppressed the main agitators and stopped the work throughout the nation. Those that work under the old traditional Chosonsho-kai (Town-Village Society) or the National Agricultural Association may send some representatives and file a petition, but this does not amount to anything. GONDO and his party, together with WAGO, Tsuneo and Lord NAGANO are active in Niigata, Nagano, Saitama, Shizuoka, and Yamanashi Prefectures. They are saying that they will proceed with the five articles of petitions and this was a shock before the opening of the session but now it disappeared. This and that about the OKAWA Problem in September may have been done if the Jimmu-Kai had been organized to a larger size and OKAWA had been imprisoned, but now such a thing cannot be done. Generally, cocoon and wheat are good because of fair weather and the Akita Area is good this year, although it was poor last year. Cocoon in Nagano Prefecture is good; therefore, the atmosphere is moderate. It is also moderate in Ibaragi (Prefecture) because wheat grew well. It is said that there will be a crop worth ¥10,000,000. The prefectural governor of Yamanashi summarized the situation by saying: 'Everything is quiet.' Therefore, I think there will be no explosion of mass activity. GONDO recently said: 'I am perplexed with the suppression by the police.' This indicates the considerable effectiveness of the police. According to HATA, Commander of the Kempei, Lt. KANIE of Osaka assembled his classmates around that area and attempted to start a sort of movement, but no

one from the other regiments cooperated, so he finally failed."

In the evening, there was a phone call from MORI saying: "This session will not proceed as simply as President SUZUKI thinks." I also met GOTO, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, and departed after hearing all about the attitude of the government and the situation in the session. Needless to say, it seemed that the Chief Cabinet Secretary also felt that it is troublesome if the same situation exists.

The Chinese Ambassador came to KONOYE's place in Kamakura saying: "Can the Japanese Government possibly cancel the recognition (of Manchukuo)?" According to KONOYE it is probably a hint to convey it to the Elder Statesman. All in all by looking from all angles, the fact is that China has given up all hope as to the recognition of Manchukuo. From the standpoint of the Nanking Government, perhaps, if the extraterritorial rights and consular court rights are exchanged for the recognition, the problems may be solved. The Chinese Ambassador said: "An unexpected world war may break out as a result of Japan's recognition of Manchukuo. Instead, if this problem is withdrawn from the League and settled between Japan and China, it would be good for both countries. If Japan should fight with Russia or the United States, China will be the very one that will be in a troublesome position. Since the problem is one between China and Japan, it should be settled between the two and not be intruded upon by the League." KONOYE repeated the above statement to me so I told him: "If the Chinese Ambassador feels that way I think that it is better to ask him to speak directly

to a person who is responsible. If he speaks to the War Minister and if the Army takes action to solve this problem, the Foreign Ministry will be aided."

On the following morning I went to the official residence of Vice-Minister ARITA and spoke about everything in detail. I phoned KONOYE and then ARITA. I called on KONOYE and had various talks. As a result, we decided to ask the Chinese Ambassador to bring that subject, concretely and as quickly as possible, to the Foreign Minister. ARITA said: "No wonder the Chinese Ambassador has been saying recently: 'I want to meet the Foreign Minister.' However, the Foreign Minister was saying: 'Probably he is going to bring up another protest.' He was more or less avoiding a meeting. It is said that if that is the case, the Foreign Minister should meet him. Therefore, on that day they met, but the Ambassador never said a word about the matter and went home."

In the afternoon, Prince KONOYE went to see ARAKI, the War Minister, and discussed the problem in detail. The Minister was entirely disinterested (in what Prince KONOYE proposed). He said that it might be all right if the matter were to be handled as a local affair (in Manchuria), but that it would not be desirable if it were to be considered as a part of the whole issue (between Japan and China) and resolved without being presented for the deliberation of the League of Nations. Prince KONOYE himself was exceedingly surprised because the attitude of the War Minister seemed to be rather in favor of creating a situation in which Japan would wage a war against the world when Japan should become

isolated from the rest of the world as a result of the deliberations of the League of Nations.

On that afternoon Prince KONOYE called on the Chinese Ambassador and said: "The recognition of Manchukuo has been decided upon already and it cannot be helped. How about dropping the problem of Manchukuo and proposing a quid pro quo to the Foreign Minister?" "If the recognition of Manchukuo has been decided upon I have nothing to say", he answered weakly. Prince KONOYE felt deeply that he could not possibly get along with the War Minister when it came to diplomacy during his meeting with the War Minister that afternoon.